The People.

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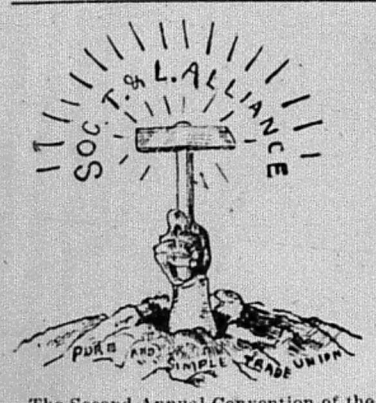

The Second Annual Convention of the S. T. & L. A. met in Boston on the 5th instant. As we go to press it is in the midst of its deliberations. A detailed report of its transactions will be published in next week's issue. The following is the report of the General Executive Board:

To the Delegates Accredited to the Second Annual National Convention of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance:

Comrades—Upon the General Executive Board, to which last year's Convention entrusted the administration of your national concerns, now devolves the agreeable duty of submitting to you a sketch of the history of the S. T. & L. A. during the last twelve months. The sketch is difficult to draw in short strokes: so numerous are the incidents crowded into this short span of time that bear upon the labor movement and are intimately connected with the rise and growth of our organization. Indeed, such is the nature of the S. T. & L. A. that, not only is itself a part of history, but it is also a powerful maker of history. As well known, it is the mark of honor to arouse the hostility of dishonesty, it is the mark of genius to inflame the active enmity of fooldom, it is the mark of light to set the owls afluttering. The history of the first year's life of the S. T. & L. A. cannot be told by a simple chronology of its own acts alone; to be understood and appreciated, it must be accompanied by a narration of the influence it has exercised all around and about. Cheering, as is this task, to undertake it fully would exceed the bounds of a report. We shall limit ourselves to rough outlines.

The organization of the S. T. & L. A. proceeded from the recognition of the fact that the labor movement in America was suffering from dislocation of joints. After severe pains of travail it has produced its political limb—the Socialist Labor Party, that entered boldly the political arena in 1890, and since then has uninterruptedly given battle, as becomes a political party of labor, for the unconditional surrender of the Capitalist Class. But the economic limb lay prostrate, its motions were hysterical convulsions more than intelligent action; it was dislocated, not only from its political counterpart, but also in its several sub-joints. Two large national organizations—the K. of L. and the A. F. of L.—had successively risen, and by their stupid and corrupt conduct rent the economic movement into warring fragments, upon which an unholy traffic was conducted by the beneficiaries of this disorder—the labor fakir. The unions, as a rule, had ceased to be fighting organizations of the working class; some had shrunk into "ambulance societies" to take care of the victims of capitalist recklessness and thereby encouraged capitalist recklessness; others had developed into combines of mercenaries for "political strikes"; others again sank to the level of clients and retainers for their special employers, and ready to cut the throats of those of their fellow wage slaves, who, as retainers of other and competing employers, were hurled against them on the industrial and political battle fields of their common exploiters. The very word "union" became a stench in the nostrils of the bulk of the working class. The economic organization of labor, so important and necessary a limb of the labor movement, fell into such utter disrepute that men like President Boyce, of the Western Federation of Miners, only the other day expressed his readiness to wash out the bath with the baby, and throw out trade-unionism altogether. Upon this general demoralization the Capitalist Class looked approvingly, and it encouraged the birth of a class that is indigenous, special and peculiar to our country—the labor fakir; a class that rose as a bulwark of capitalism, and that sought to, and, for a time succeeded in, intercepting all education from the rank and file.

Such was the condition of things when the crisis of 1893 broke upon the country. The ravages it wrought were not an unalloyed evil. They furnished proof of the unseaworthiness of a labor movement, whose joints were so dislocated. The effects of these lessons were soon manifest. T. V. Powderly was thrown overboard in the K. of L., Samuel Gompers was sent after him in the A. F. of L. But these changes proved too slight a remedy; the gangrene had eaten its way too deep into the leading bodies. The K. of L. went to pieces, and the planks of the wreck now only serve as life preservers to a gang of pirates, who, floating upon them, are ready to sell out to the highest bidder; while the A. F. of L. returned to its own vomit, and, with Gompers and his crew on deck, floats rudderless on the waters, a dangerous derelict in the track of the labor movement.

These circumstances made the time rotten ripe for honest and intelligent and aggressive action. In the social history of man there is no such thing as evolution wholly unconscious, left to chance. Where the intellect does not perceive the trend of events, and comes not to the aid of evolution, a dwarfed, warped development is the inevitable result, if not a ruinous cataclysm. The S. T. & L. A. was resolutely founded as the result of an intimate knowledge of the situation and of the danger of further delay.

A few days after our first national convention last year, the Socialist Labor Party, in national convention assembled, recognized in the S. T. & L. A. its kin, its twin, whose birth had so long been delayed, and which, owing to the exceptional conditions of the land, had followed, instead of preceding the political movement, as was the case elsewhere. After an extensive debate the National Convention of the S. L. P. reached us the hand, which we warmly grasped, urged the proletariat of America to fall in line with us in the economic field, and deemed us worthy of its presence by a national deputation at our national conventions. Since that day the American labor movement, that had been kept hacked in two by capitalist and labor fakir intrigue, has stood up on both its feet in our land—the economic and the political, armed with both its natural weapons—the economic and the political, and carrying on its double propaganda—the economic as well as the political.

What has been the result? An awakening of the revolutionary instinct of the proletariat in America such as it had been thought to be incapable of, and such as nothing but the combined forces of the economic and the political spirit could effect. Let us mention a few instances.

From the midst of the textile workers, whose organizations had long been laboring under suspended animation, the footstools for political labor hacks, a ringing note went up in New England; boldly did it sound the note of secession from the derelict of the A. F. of L., and unmistakably does it forecast the affiliation of the whole trade with the S. T. & L. A.

From the underground galleries of the Pennsylvania mines, the miners, who, long used as sheep for merciless slaughter by capitalists and for cruel imposition by unconscionable leaders, lived a life of hopelessness, the gladsome "hurrah!" has broken forth hailing the S. T. & L. A., and speedily ripened into the organization of several local alliances, that, animated with the pentecostal fire, are carrying on an aggressive campaign of education and spreading light, and, with it, hope in those stricken districts.

From the bench of the cigarmakers, upon whom a pack of unscrupulous adventurers had fastened their talons, the shout of joy went up at the organization of the S. T. & L. A., a shout that became all the louder and more effective, when last year's convention of the International Cigarmakers' Union removed whatever doubt there may have been that a deliberate conspiracy was on foot against the older members, and to wholly transform the treasury of the organization into spoils, on which the officers and their dastardly creatures were to riot while it lasted. The birth of the S. T. & L. A. called forth the latent class consciousness in numerous local unions of this trade. From Boston, Philadelphia, Louisville and other towns the responsive voice of new trades-unionism went up in such volume as to justify the expectation that that national organization, so noble when some of its material is considered, will not be allowed to wholly go to ruin before it is reconstructed under our banner. Already there is a good local alliance of the trade in Chicago, and others can not long be absent.

From the factories, where the shoe workers have for years pined under the double affliction of capitalist oppression and fakir chicanery, no less cheering sounds reach our ears. Organizations of this trade had, during the last generation, followed close upon the heels one of the other, always to go to pieces, leaving the men stranded and their fakir leaders in possession of political jobs, given them in reward for their treason to their class. Shortly before the organization of the S. T. & L. A. a new organization of this trade was set on foot, in Massachusetts mainly. It chose for its chairman an enlightened new trade unionist, Comrade John R. Tobin. From this circumstance, great expectations were entertained from the new body by the progressive movement. The expectations proved false. Again proof was furnished of the truth of the maxim that light, as freedom, must come from below. All the efforts of Comrade Tobin proved vain to switch his organization right after it had started on the wrong track. A large body of shoemakers, located in Greater New York and connected with the K. of L., wisely refused to entrust their fate to the Massachusetts organization; their organizations joined the roll of charter members of the S. T. & L. A., and the stand they took has had its effect upon the reactionary Massachusetts body. From Lynn and Rochester the tenets of the S. T. & L. A. have gone forth from the rank and file itself, and in Lynn, in particular, an election for an officer of the Lasters' Union gave the victory to a candidate who took the advanced position that every member should, before admission, be pledged not to be a political scab on election day, be pledged to vote the ticket of his class, the ticket of the S. L. P. The solidification of the shoe workers trade in the S. T. & L. A. is at hand.

From the ranks of the machinists, whom a blatant and slick political fakir has been bleeding, from the ranks of the carpenters, whom a disreputable renegade and inebriate has been plucking, ominous sounds have come in response to the battle cry of the S. T. & L. A. As to the former, several L. A.'s are now enrolled with us and more are coming; as to both, the day of their full enrollment under our banner is not distant. With no place to go to formerly, the rank and file ground its teeth in silence; since we have reared a home

(Continued on Page 4.)

MOVEMENT ABROAD.

Mutterings of the Approaching Revolution Everywhere.

Austria-Hungary—Conventions of the Socialist Labor Parties — Impotent Government Obstructions — Japan — Startings of the Labor Movement in this Newly "Capitalized" Empire — Java—Political Life—Reasons all For Capitalist Uneasiness.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

The Austrian and Hungarian Socialist parties held their respective congresses early in June. At Vienna the Austrian Section gathered to the number of nearly 200 in its sixth annual session. Dr. Adler opened the proceedings, and his fellows in parliamentary misfortune, Pernerstorfer and Ellenbogen, also took leading parts. All the deputies of the party put in an appearance, besides two German Socialist members. The tactics of the parliamentary group were approved; in addition to which a campaign for extension of the franchise for provincial diets and Communal Councils and for opposing clerical influences was the burden of the chief resolutions.

This peaceful congress was contrasted with the violent ending of its Buda Pesth counterpart. The Hungarian Socialists met in strong force; 120 towns and communes being represented by 262 delegates. Many of these were agriculturalists, including 3 women. The total showed a great increase on previous figures. It appears that among the delegates were some of the persons concerned in the Socialist riots at Nadudvar and Alpar, where the police, a day or two before, killed 2 men, wounded 30 or more others and arrested 21 people described as agitators. The congress proceedings turned on this topic, and the police seized the occasion to break up the assembly and to arrest a few more of the agitators. What heroism is exacted in the Hungarian movement is shown by the fact that within a year 14 members of the party have been killed by gendarmes in various encounters. Energetic measures are, indeed, contemplated throughout the Empire; preliminary reports from the local officials having been called for from headquarters. In Hungary, during April, the "Agricultural Worker" was instituted, so also were two Sloverian Socialist journals.

JAPAN.

Reports of the existence of Socialism in this land of many successful importations have previously been received, but recent news tends to show that the new doctrines may soon become a vital influence there. The first Socialists have been men of research, who studied scientific European works on the subject. After the Chinese war, the Government of the Mikado sent five officers to England to study army organization. Two of them returned convinced Socialists, and promulgated a Japanese translation of the "Manifesto of the Communist Party." A year ago a young Japanese, coming back from Australia, where he had taken an active part in the Socialist Labor movement, founded at Tokio a journal called "The Future of the Worker," to advocate the class war in politics as in economics. The results of the agitation thus commenced have already excited capitalistic apprehensions; and a clamor has arisen from a certain quarter for energetic measures to be taken in the German manner. The Japanese Liberal organ, "Nippon Gin," advises capitalists to grant some ameliorations in order to discount the Socialist movement. In the next paragraph it ventures to think that when these prudential reforms have been carried out, the Government will know how to do its duty to the recalcitrants who may continue to excite the workers, etc., etc. This journal has evidently grasped the whole duty of "Liberal" parties. In addition to Socialism, there is a very important Japanese Trade Union movement. The spinners of Yokohama and Lambkah are said to be combined, also the engineers, printers, builders and decorators are organized at Tokio, and similar groups exist in all the large towns—notwithstanding capitalist and government resistance. The total membership reaches the number of 300,000, or ten per cent. of all the workers.

JAVA.

We are grafting ourselves on to other parts of the Oriental world. The first Socialist party in Java has just been formed, and the principal item on the businesslike programme for its congress is universal suffrage and representation of the colonies at the Home Parliament.

Professor Richard T. Ely, professor of political economy of the University of Wisconsin, has sent out a request to all organizations of wage-workers in the United States, no matter of what character, to send him copies of all the literature published by them, such as official organs, labor day journals, statutes, leaflets, agitation material, handbills, posters, etc. All such packages will be received free by express companies. Such matter should be addressed to Reuben G. Thwaites, librarian, State Historical Library, Madison, Wis., and marked "Ely Collection." Professor Ely is the author of "Socialism and Social Reform," "French and German Socialism," also many treatises bearing on economic subjects.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

TEXAS IN LINE.

Enough Sections Organized, Since Elections, for a State Committee.

Section Dallas Founded—Address by the Organizer—Outline of Socialism—The Position of the S. L. P. Towards Trusts—Urgency of the Unification of the Proletariat at the Ballot Box to the End that it May do Both the Voting and the Winning.

DALLAS, Tex., July 4—Pursuant to call for a meeting the Socialists of Dallas met last Sunday afternoon in the John J. Good I. O. O. F. hall, 345 Main street, with about twenty-five persons present, besides five or six of the fair sex, who were very enthusiastic, four becoming members of the section.

Mr. Trotter was chosen chairman of the meeting. The platform and constitution of the Socialist Labor Party were read, after which short addresses were made by J. M. O'Neal, W. J. McConnell, Mrs. Smith, T. E. Losee and others.

The enrollment of members then took place, who signed an application to the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party for a charter as a section of the party in Dallas.

Thomas E. Losee was chosen organizer and secretary until the next meeting, when all officers will be elected.

A few persons present, among these Messrs. O'Neal, McConnell and others, favored awaiting further developments of the E. V. Debs Chicago Convention, and did not join the section.

This makes the third section of the S. L. P. in the State—one in Houston and one in San Antonio—the requisite number for a state committee.

Organizer Losee read the following paper:

"I find so many scholarly persons with whom I have conversed, who claim they do not know the meaning of Socialism, that I feel it is my duty to explain in as few words as possible what Socialism means. A Socialist is one who desires that the capital of a nation be owned collectively by all the people rather than that it should be held by a small fraction of them commonly known as capitalists. By the capital of a nation is meant the railroads and telegraphs, the mines, mills, factories, and, in short, all those agencies by means of which food, clothing and other commodities that mankind desires are produced; the land is, of course, included.

"By Socialism we mean government and municipal ownership and management, that is, the collective management of all wealth producing industries. Not only these, but also all other industries would be owned and managed by the public. In short, Socialists propose that instead of the Vanderbilts and Goulds owning the United States and running it for their private benefit, we, the people, shall assume possession of it and run it for our own benefit. It is a well known fact that in the midst of plenty many are starving. In the midst of natural wealth and mechanical means waiting idly for the hand of labor many are deprived of employment, while those to whom work is given must toil unceasingly for a decreasing pittance. The more labor produces the less it receives. Why is it thus? Simply because the plenty of our own creation, the machines of our own make, and nature itself, the common inheritance of the people, have all been appropriated by a class—the capitalistic class. That class, which we have enriched, keeps us in poverty. That class, which we have raised to power, keeps us in subjection. Its maladministration of affairs, public and private, is stupendous; its corruption, notorious; its despotism, intolerable.

"We have given it the earth and everything on it. We are the tenants at will, its wage slaves when at work, and mere vagrants trespassing on its planet when out of work. True, we still have some political rights. We are citizens. Once a year at the ballot box each of us is the equal of a millionnaire, and our majority would be 50 to 1 were we all united on Election Day into one grand party of emancipation.

"But our masters are cunning. With their machinery of production they array us against each other, the unemployed against the employed, in the daily struggle for bread. We fight, they win. Likewise, with their political machinery they array us against each other, the so-called democrats against the so-called republicans—in the annual wrangle between office seekers pledged to do their bidding. We vote; they govern. The machine-made candidates presented to our choice are carefully selected by our oppressors to legislate and administer against our class. Whichever we may thus elect is of necessity an enemy to us and a venal servant to our masters.

"We have nothing in common with those who wage a personal fight against individual capitalists; we are opposed to the system of the capitalist class. We say to the capitalist, come with us and let us be brothers, but you must leave your system behind you, we will have none of it. We are not opposed to trusts and combines, but favor them, but we desire that all of the people should be equal partners in them. We claim that if by a combination of a few, more can be produced with less effort and with better results, that by the combination of the producers and distributors of the entire nation still better results can be obtained.

"Some people have a horror of government ownership. They say that once a party gets control of the government with such an army of employees it would be next to impossible to vote them out of office. They admit that government or collective ownership would be so much nicer than the present system that they fear we would be loath to again exchange it for the competitive system. If we were like a majority of the office-holders of this age, we would have to change considerable, if we even desired to vote ourselves out, and back to the competitive system again, and would we not be chuckleheads if we did?

"We claim the principles of Socialism are just and fair, and if you believe they are right it is a duty you owe yourselves and families, a duty you owe posterity and humanity to assist in the spreading of the principles of Socialism, and a good way to spread them is to join a section of the Socialist Labor Party."

COAL-MINING.

Inroads Made by Machinery and More Coming.

The present miners' strike suggests the thought: To what extent has machinery caused the strike, and to what extent does machinery affect the prospects of the strike?

The first practical result in this country of the application of mechanical ingenuity to the problem of doing away with mining by hand was the Winstanley machine, invented by a man named Winstanley, and put on the market in 1877. It was a vast improvement on the crude English machines, but it effected very little economy, and was promptly consigned to the scrap-heap, when Butler and Harrison, two Michigan inventors, produced a machine operated by compressed air. This machine consists essentially of an engine propelling a piston-rod about five feet long, to the end of which is attached a two-pronged pick, which does the "undercutting." The plant consists of boilers and engine, situated outside the mine, where the air is compressed. The compressed air is conducted through a main pipe into the mine, and smaller pipes, radiating to the various "workings," convey the air to the machines. At the end of each smaller pipe is a valve, to which is connected a hose that supplies the air to the machines. Speaking untechnically, the machine may be said to bear a resemblance to a small cannon, into and out of which the piston-rod works, striking 400 blows a minute. Using this machine, two men work in a "room," one to operate the machine, the other to "wedge down" the coal. One machine cuts from twenty-five to forty tons of coal a day, the two men thus DISPLACING FROM THREE TO FOUR SKILLED MINERS.

In the last few years improvements were made on the Butler-Harrison machine, and its efficiency was increased. For example, the compressed air when leaving the engine at the outside of the mine is hot, but becomes cold again by the time it enters the machines. When the machine was first made the air became so cold, although used in mines of high temperature, that masses of ice formed at the outlet of the smaller pipes. That difficulty is met with no longer.

A machine invented by a man named Lechner is another improvement. It consists of two engines which propel driving chains connected with a cutter-bar four inches in diameter and four feet long; the cutter-bar is studded with chisels or knives; it revolves with great rapidity, cutting the coal out, and cutting its way into the vein. The machine cuts fifty tons of coal a day.

Electricity seems to have finally solved the problem within the last five years.

According to Col. Rend, the average electrical plant consists of four or five boilers, a 150-horse-power electrical generator, and five or six machines. Each machine, operated by two men, one to work the machine and the other to "wedge down" the coal, will cut seventy-five tons a day, SIX TIMES AS MUCH AS TWO MEN CUT BY HAND, THUS DISPLACING FOUR SKILLED MEN.

The use of the machines is growing every day, and the miners must prepare to give way to modern improvements. In sections of the country where coal veins are only from three to four feet thick, the old pick-miner will continue to hold sway, but in thick-vein districts the machine will drive him out. Machines are a failure in northern Illinois, but they have been found to be a success in the coal mines along the Gould system of railroads in other parts of that State. In the Hocking Valley district in Ohio, in West Virginia, and in many parts of western Pennsylvania the use of machines is constantly increasing.

The reason of the present sorrowful condition of the miner's trade and the surplus of coal-diggers is this: Five years ago coal miners were scarce, and operators were compelled to advertise for men. The panic came, rolling-mills shut down, railroad construction ceased, and thus thousands of laborers were forced into idleness. The pick-miner's occupation may be called a half-skilled trade—it can be learned in six months. So the laborers made idle by the panic flocked into the mines, and there competed with men who had followed the trade since childhood. Some of the operators took advantage of this condition and cut wages. The demand for coal fell off, of course, during the panic, and we now find that there are more than twice as many miners as there is work for.

In sight of this, we find the unhappy miner mislead by his "Presidents"—national and otherwise—into adopting "tariff resolutions," driven into the camps of the political parties of the men who own the labor-displacing machines, and then cheated into the belief that if he simply strikes against a boss he can improve his condition!

WELL DONE, MINNEAPOLIS!

The Section Raps a Vicious Falsifier of History to Order.

Dr. Harry Pratt Judson, Recently of Rockefeller's University, Writes a Book, Intended to Deceive the Youth on the Subject of Socialism—The Book Being Made a Text Book in the Public Schools of Minneapolis, the Section of the S. L. P. Addresses a Sharp Protest to the Board of Education.

To the Board of Education of the City of Minneapolis:—

Gentlemen: Section Minneapolis of the Socialistic Labor Party desires to call your attention to the following statement and protest:

There is in use in the department of history in the high schools of this city a certain text book entitled, "Europe in the Nineteenth Century," and written by Dr. Harry Pratt Judson. In this book occur numerous references to the Socialistic movement, all of which are hostile and do injustice to the Socialists by implication, if not by actual misrepresentation; while in several places there are positive misstatements of fact very prejudicial to the Socialist Party.

We call your attention especially to the following passages:

First—At page 99 the facts in regard to the French national workshops of 1848 are seriously misrepresented and the atrocities of Cavaignac's repression are slurred over. On this point we refer you to Ely: "French and German Socialism"; Mill, "Dissertations," vol. III; Lamartine, "Revolution of Forty-Eight"; Marx, "Der 18. Brumaire."

Second—At page 101 the phrase "protection of property and life against the Red Republicans" gives the wholly false impression that the "Red Republicans or Socialists" (see page 99) were desirous of destroying life and property.

Third—At pages 132 and 133 the same misrepresentation is repeated, and the name of Socialism is associated with "anarchistic conspiracies" and disorder."

Fourth—At page 152 the same misrepresentation is repeated.

Fifth—At pages 184 and 185 the account of the Paris Commune of 1871 is inadequate and misleading; two positive falsehoods here occur: First, the statement that the Communards massacred the prisoners "by wholesale;" second, the statement that the Communards set fire to the city. These long-exploded lies ought not to be taught under the name of history. On this matter we refer you to Lissagary: "The Paris Commune;" Bax, "The Paris Commune."

Sixth—At pages 201 and 202 the character of Socialism is wholly misrepresented. Particularly objectionable are the phrases "social vagaries," "subversion of order," "incendiary speeches," etc., and the statement that "attempts to assassinate the Emperor (of Germany) were the logical results of the teachings of Socialistic extremists," must be branded as an absolute slander. On this point we refer you to Dawson, "German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle."

Seventh—At pages 223 and 224 it is implied that Socialism means violence.

Eighth—At page 252 Lavrow is called a "State Socialist"; this is a confusion of totally different things. Lavrow is a Social Democrat. For the distinction we refer you to Dawson, "Bismarck and State Socialists."

Ninth—At page 253 anarchism and Socialism are linked together.

Tenth—At page 331 the same falsehood is explicitly affirmed, that Socialism and anarchism are identical. On this point we refer you to Ely, "Socialism and Social Reform," pages 92 and 372, and elsewhere.

In addition to the references above given, we could refer you to Schaeffle, "Quintessence of Socialism"; Engel's "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific"; McClure, "Socialism"; Kautsky, "Das Erfurter Programm."

We think that you will, upon a candid examination of the passages above pointed out, recognize that the book in question wholly misrepresents one of the most important social movements of recent years, and that its use in the public schools in Minneapolis does grave injustice to those members of the community who belong to the movement.

We, the Socialistic Labor Party of Minneapolis, therefore strongly protest against this injustice and call upon you to remove it by discontinuing the use of Judson's "Europe in the Nineteenth Century" as a text book in the public schools.

By order of the section,

(Signed), ALGERNON LEE,
W. B. HAMMOND,
Committee.

Charter Competition.

Notice to Competitors.

All competitors for Award on Charter of Socialist Labor party can have their drawings returned by sending to the undersigned their "noms de plume" and correct name and address on or before July 15th, 1897.

By order of the Committee,

A. C. KIHN, Sec'y.

371 Eighth street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

THE PEOPLE.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential)	2,068
In 1890	13,331
In 1892 (Presidential)	21,157
In 1894	33,133
In 1896 (Presidential)	**36,564**

The preacher prayed in a woeful tone,
For the thief in the felon's cell,
And told of the punishment here on earth
And his endless days in hell;
But the thief that sat in the best front pew,
That he might be seen and heard—
Of the Shylock thief of the helpless poor,
The priest never uttered a word!

Lord help the preacher and help the church
When the morning sun shall rise,
And cast the veil that has hidden the sham
Away from the people's eyes
And the big thief then, in the best front pew
And the man with the blood-stained hand,
Shall stand alone in the daylight clear
In sight of all the land.

—Tichenor.

DISILLUSIONED.

One of the manifestations of the labor movement in Australia was the creation of a "Political Labor League." This body denoted at the time of its organization a decided improvement in the understanding of the Social or Labor Question. Trades unions, built upon the "pure and simple" plan, together with other "reform forces," had been found deficient: they had long been nibbling at the question, but never got any further, and, realizing that, in all such matters, he who does not progress does not stand still but slides back, the Australian unions and other bona fide reform agencies felt they were losing ground. It was to a clear understanding of this fact that the "Political Labor League" owed its birth. With greater honesty than our own American "pure and simple" fakirs, who had begun to make a business of labor defeats, and with greater virility than the British "pure and simple" leaders, whose minds have become ossified, our Australian brothers decided to set up a political organization which should supplement the economic, and thus grab the capitalist bull by both horns.

This step denoted progress, and yet it was progress only in a very general way, it was not that complete progress that removes failure and insures success. It was progress in the sense that it showed the Australians knew failure when they saw it, did not nail themselves to a false theory, and were ready to abandon it for a better. The progress was incomplete, however, inasmuch as the programme set up by the "Political Labor League" proceeded from the false notion that Capitalism could be tinkered, that the ship of the modern Social system could be reformed by knocking out one plank and setting in another, by removing one beam and substituting it with a better; it proceeded from the false notion that "something could be got now," and so holding it abstained from striving for the whole. The structural defect of the "Political Labor League" can be summed up this wise: "It did not yet appreciate the fact that the Social Question involves a revolution." Accordingly, the P. L. L. strove for little things—large enough if the measure of good that they could accomplish were considered—yet little, infinitely small, when compared with the main issue. It is the fate of such relatively small issues that they can not be enacted, or, if enacted, enforced. The Australians, while working on the right line of political action, were working with the wrong tool—the "Small issue tool." It is in connection with the experience herein made that our Australian brothers deserve special credit.

Not only are "small issues" in the labor movement destined to failure, but they have another and worse feature, they look attractive by the very reason of their smallness, they thereby deceive the masses with the prospect of success, and thereby, like so many "ignes fatui," lure them away from the right path and drag them down into impassable quagmires. The small issues which the P. L. L. set up involved the Australian workers into years upon years of fruitless efforts. We see with pleasure that they are manifesting the requisite physical and intellectual vigor to recognize their error, to call a halt upon the tactics that involve nothing short of the failure and demoralization that accompany spook-chasing, and the slogan: "Nothing less than Socialism in our time!" now begins to be heard in the camp of the P. L. L.

This manifestation speaks volumes: it shows that the illusions accompanying the first steps of the labor movement are overcome in Australia; it shows that our brothers there have at least discovered the nature of the present issue, have seized its pulse, felt its revolutionary stroke, and fired by it, are determining to strike the only road that is practical, because it is the only road that is not visionary.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

The Cumberland, Ind., "Uncle Sam" during a recent lucid interval said:

"What with the Democrats flocking over to the high tariff standard, and the Populists 'fused forever,' as Weaver says, it is hard work for the honest and patriotic citizen to figure out where he is at, or where he belongs. If this sort of thing keeps up, the workers will be forced in to the only non-fusing, non-tariff party there is—the Socialist Labor Party." And this is no joke.

And what adds to the cheerfulness of the circumstance is that the passage has been quite extensively reproduced at lucid intervals of other similarly unlucid publications.

May the intervals of lucidity on the part of these "esteemed contemporaries" be more frequent and lasting, to the end that the American people may speedily enter upon the "home run" in the nation's race towards freedom.

Further issues of the Rome, Italy, "Avanti" have been confiscated, and this Roman Socialist journal has been pursued for "libelling the police." The Court, however, awarded a very light sentence, inflicting a small fine for simple insult. Italian residents at Genoa have opened a permanent subscription on behalf of this gallant journal, which has been the object of so much government solicitude during its brief history.

Apostrophizing Mr. Debs, the Johnston, R. I., "Beacon" says:

"If you want a Co-operative Commonwealth you must teach your followers to take possession of the one they have already built. To take them out West on a wild goose chase will only delay the real battle and give the enemy all the more time to strengthen its position."

Altho' large lengths of seas and shores between Paris and San Francisco lie, the San Francisco "New Charter" is well posted, as appears from this passage:

"The other day some fellow exploded a bomb in a cluster of lilacs by the street along which was passing the carriage of President Faure, of France. Next day the capitalist dailies had columns about it and informed the world how cool the President was. Why shouldn't he be cool? He was on to the game, but in this case the Socialist newspaper, "Petite Republique," of Paris, spoiled it a little by announcing the day before the bomb explosion that the police were busy working up a scare in connection with President Faure. It's an old scheme, worked over and over again with variations, with the object of perverting the public mind and giving a check to the toiling millions who are struggling to secure their rights."

While we could not quote the Syracuse, N. Y., "Herald" as a paper well informed on the social question, we do take pleasure in quoting it again as an example, exceptionally so, of honorable opposition from the camp of capitalist journalism. In its issue of the 1st inst. it says:

"Socialism is a philosophical system, believed in by millions of intelligent men, among them some of the finest intellects that are to-day discussing man's status and possibilities. It is crass ignorance or brutal knavery to put Socialists in the category of that small and unbalanced element which would create chaos in the hope of personal gains and complete license. Socialists have a right to agitate their views, and there is much in these latter worthy the study of every student of government, society and economy."

The Macon, Ga., "Telegraph" treats the Populists in general and particularly its own Georgia Tom Watson Populists with this well deserved contempt:

"The Middle-of-the-Road Populist convention at Atlanta came to nothing. This would seem to mean that the Nashville conference, called for July 4, will prove a fiasco, and that Butler has scored a triumph over Watson. It is not for us to comprehend all the ins and outs of Populist politics, but we had thought that the Georgia statesman was certain to hang the scalp of the North Carolina Senator to his belt. He seemed to be so intensely in earnest and so confident of scotching the serpent of fusion that the result of the Atlanta convention is a matter of very great surprise to us. In short, the truth seems to be that the people are giving up the vagaries which affected so large a portion of the electorate a year ago, and that even the Populist masses are not disposed to make another row so soon after the Presidential campaign of 1896. Too many people who voted the Bryan and Watson and the Bryan and Sewall tickets of last year have been converted to the sound-money faith, and they prefer to saw wood at home."

According to the City of Mexico, Mex., "Herald," our sister republic must have become the ideal country for capitalists. It says:

"Partisanship lies dead; factors are dumb; the people are all patriotic, and are addressing themselves to improving their fortunes. Nobody talks politics, because, luckily, Mexico has none to speak of. A businesslike administration is attending strictly to business and working for the good of Mexico and all of Mexico."

The ideal country for capitalists is that in which politics cease to be, and the politics of the whole nation have been raised to the stand of municipal politics—"non-partisanship" and "business principles."

That "Diamond Jubilee" does not seem to have been a very unanimous affair. Here comes the Marlborough, Queensland, "Patriot" with this telling squib:

"It is pointed out as significant of the hollowness of the whole Jubilee celebration, that the Queen has never visited the East End of London, much less shown the slightest sympathy with the misery of her subjects in that gruesome quarter, or a least desire for a reform of the horrible social and sanitary conditions that prevail there. And like mistress, like flunkey. No Australian Governor has ever presided at a meeting having for its object to find work for the unemployed, or to assert the obligation of the State to employ those whom by representations more or less colored, it has decoyed hither."

SCOTCHED.

Debsism Effectually Thrown Aside in Detroit.

DETROIT, June 30.—The Socialist Labor party held a mass meeting on the 27th for the purpose of exposing the Debs plan. Though the meeting did not number "many thousands," it will prove beneficial in so far as the Debs plan will not be able to catch any ground at all now in Detroit. Comrades S. Kleindienst, M. Meyer, Charles Erb and G. Herzig addressed the meeting. It was too bad that the hall was not overfilled, for all the speeches were excellent and worthy of a monster meeting.

The speakers showed that Debs' co-operative colonization plan was a mare's nest. Debs himself was classed as either ignorant or a schemer, and the warning was repeated over and over that his so-called reform was not sanctioned by Socialists, and is not a part of Socialism. Comrade Stanley Kleindienst acted as chairman, and also delivered an address. He said the plan of Socialism was to revolutionize the government by means of the ballot. He then took a practical example of Debs' plan and showed its impracticability, saying he did not think there were enough who would contribute twenty-five cents a month to provide a salary of $100 a month for a lot of organizers.

M. Meyer said that the scheme of Debs was not allied with Socialism, and he saw in it an attempt to draw Socialists out of the ranks of the masses and place them in some secluded spot.

"At most," he said, "it is a reform, and reforms are no longer possible. Circumstances demand a social revolution. Socialism is not individualism. The co-operation of production and labor should have the benefit of machinery, instead of the capitalist."

The speaker also said that Debs had never used the ballot rightly in the interest of the laboring classes, and held that his scheme contained neither merit nor common sense.

LETTER BOX.

Offhand Answers to Inquirers.

Louis Billings, Terre Haute, Ind.—Mr. Debs is old enough (and not too old, i. e. venerable) to take up his own cudgels, and address us himself. If he thinks we have done him injustice, we shall gladly give him space to point out in what respect—and the public may judge. He need not apprehend that the discourtesy of having ignored our open letter of January 10, 1897, sent to him in special wrapper, receipt of which was acknowledged by a clerk in his office, nor the further and more serious offence of allowing a scurrilous denunciation of the membership of the S. L. P. to be reprinted in his organ, the "Railway Times," without protest from himself, will unduly affect our conduct.

A. La Rocca, Houston, Tex.—The Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth is a double-faced scheme, having the two faces of all such schemes. One face represents visionary stupidity, the other practical knavery. One of its planks declares that it will leave the ballot box away in the rear as a means of emancipation. Whenever you come across any such lingo, you may be sure you have run up against some visionary stupidity or some very practical knavery. In either case you have run across a thing that you should run away from.

The Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth is a sort of tender or life-boat for the Ruskin Colony.

Socialist Tracts.

Price of the following Tracts and Party Platforms $1.50 per thousand:

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Send your order to
Philadelphia Labor News Co.,
819 N. 6th Street,
Philadelphia, Pa.

A CENTURY OF COMMERCIALISM IN SCIENCE.

The present position of science, the nature of the hands into which it has fallen, the kind of work conducted under the misleading title "research," are all a cause of intense grief to those who desire its purity and the retention of its main purpose—a deeper insight into life and all life's surroundings. With the possibilities which were latent at the end of the last century, with men who, trained in no school save that of common sense, blinded by no faith in the money value of a scientific career, genuine science-research sought after for its own and art's ends was throbbingly alive. Then the question was, "What work is being done in such-and-such a department, how may it be utilized, and how be made of a piece with corresponding work in other branches of science?" To-day the question is, "How much a year may be made, or how may a better appointment be more rapidly obtained (which amounts to the same thing) by such-and-such work?" The commercial interest, barely veiled, setting aside one or two isolated cases, has entirely dominated the whole field of science. The arena is no longer open to those who would go in for honest, patient, deep and far-seeing work, but is overcrowded by elder and younger sons, who have succeeded in making a profession of science, and thus, every limb of it bound, have handed it over to a commercialism which has destroyed its value, sucked its dearest blood, and rendered its reunion with art and life, were they ready for such a reunion, impossible for many a year.

As is usual under such conditions, those who have the interests of science at heart are impotent save so far as they may endeavor to fathom the conditions which have determined such a state of affairs, and try to obtain a concordance of opinion among the least biassed of their brethren. By a gradual process, born and fostered by competitive commercialism, all research has become more and more a "hole in the corner" business, and that hole dimly lighted at the best of times. It was necessary for degrees and appointments that certain original theses should be written, certain original lines of inquiry worked out, with the result that those who had taken up science as a means of bread-getting, and those who had not yet found their true level, attacked small and unimportant questions, ever and ever narrowed down the field of their inquiries, until to-day research generally consists of a number of observations and experiments, and of certain involved and useless lines of thought, whose remoteness, not only from matters extraneous to science, but from any genuine science itself, would render their production ludicrous were it not sad. Science has been hammered at by the gold-beaters, and has reached a skin whose purpose daily more and more appears to be merely that of covering the bare backs of its makers, and any attempt to render it consonant with the deeds and thoughts of free men grows gradually more impossible. Research and teaching have been amalgamated, and both are degraded by the fusion, the workers of genius have almost all died, and there are none to replace them. Little the wonder. What can our schools and colleges produce? What are they likely to effect? What men out of the rut will be born from them? The birth pangs and labor involved in the production of such an one would alone render impotent half his faculties. These institutions are controlled by commercial influence which fills the places of the teachers not with those most capable of forming scientific insight in their pupils, not with men who endeavor to adapt their teaching so as to strengthen the individuality of each student, but with those who are conformed with the orthodoxies that be who have paraded their investigations and diplomas with the pomp and bravado of ten dozen Daltons. It is evident that as long as this state of affairs prevails we can expect nothing and can only wonder at the mystic influences which give us the little good we get.

What wonder, then, with men who covet puerile examinerships, useless appointments and futile researches for the paltry pounds they bring in; who neither have, nor care to have, any true grasp of science as it should be grasped, not as a separate entity but as a link in the whole chain running through life to snap which is to lose yourself and your place among men and things utterly—that science should have been degraded to a money-grabbing lottery and its teaching to a yearly drudge relieved but by the intervals of quarterly payments?

Whilst influence is to determine the appointment of teachers and workers, whilst idiotic researches are to weigh in the scales for even an instant, whilst any unfitted for true work in it and real application of it, shall use science as a means of livelihood, so long will all the later developments of theoretic and practical science remain isolated and unconnected with anything real, a mockery to those to whom life is something more than a grabbing for money and a scramble after influence. In looking for amelioration we turn instinctively to our scientific bodies, and what do we find? That they are pervaded by a knowledge of valuable work when they see it, by an ardent desire to combat, so far as in them lies, the prevailing commercialism which has ruined true science. No, we find them governed, to all practical purposes, by the very men who occupy posts as directors of schools and colleges, and composed for the most part of members who hold appointments obtained by these men's influence. This obtains in the Chemical Society, the Institutes of Civil, Mechanical and Electrical Engineers, and all of a like nature.

All hope of reform in these bodies is utterly useless, the mass of their members are dependent on the existing state of affairs for their living, are those who have been pupils of the men they vote for on committee and governing bodies, and as they themselves hope to become in their turn committeemen, and control teaching, research and money bags are never to be diverted from the "straight path." The "democratic vote" in all these bodies is a fraud, it has every appearance of being genuine, is so in fact, genuinely given to the detrimental interests of all science. The British Association is an effeminate product, a plaything, fit neither for earnest men nor foolish ones, a mere mediocrity whose existence is yearly a proclamation of the utter futility of latter day scientific modes and methods—a fit toy for the vulgar bourgeoisie who surround it, and but for its use to the scientific world in keeping science popular amongst a section of the money-bag rulers on the one hand, and in making reputations on the other, it would rapidly die the death of sheer neglect. Here we have "popular science for the middle classes by the first men of the day"—science sold in sugar-sticks at so much a pound; art has rarely prostituted herself to such an extent as science is annually doing to-day. And the Royal Society, what shall be said of that venerable body? There is a phrase not infrequent in its occurrence among scientific folk when they hear of the election of a new fellow, and it contains volumes: "Well, he must have a good cook!" Some great men are doubtless to be found in the Royal Society, for very shame they could not have been left out—but the rest are worthless mediocrities. No, reform in all these things cannot come from within, it can be effected only by the external influence of a society gradually awakening to a true conception of life and of the rational disposition of the elements forming it. Then teaching will become a new thing; grants and syllabi will vanish, that overworked and frequently underpaid drudge—the demonstrator—will be a historical reminiscence; examinations as we know them will exist no more; instead of the semi-dulled, tightly-packed student's brain we shall have faculties with free play given to them all—imaginations uncramped (for what is science without imagination?)—the artistic and literary faculty will no longer be left undeveloped and it will no more be possible for a state of affairs to exist in which a Bamburger shall arise and say that he has neither been to a theatre, concert nor picture gallery, nor read any books other than those dealing with chemistry and allied subjects, for ten years. Imagine the man's wife!

The professor, too, as we know him to-day will have to go; what good did student ever derive from the distant professor, who to him seemed scarcely a human being, from the lectures which serve but to pull him through useless examinations? Scientific work will no longer be buried in archives, journals and annals, even to-day it is the puny work which is so buried; does the "Origin of Species" lie hidden away in the "Transactions of the Royal Society?" The future will not only render it possible for all to understand but will cause all to demand, and the inner ring of the scientists will be no more.

Saner social and economic conditions will thus entirely remodel teaching, and the new generation will grasp the true position of science fitting in with all else, never destroying the beautiful, never opposing art, but coming always to aid in all things—a piercing light of truth by whose help the arts, labors and pleasures of life will become doubly beautiful, and through whose agency the building up and maintenance of a new ethic and moral code will be rendered a thousand fold easier. We must go on steadily working then for social reconstruction, but we can learn at least one practical lesson—teaching and research must be divorced, the good teacher and investigator are seldom one, and those who desire to get what little good can be got from the present system will strive to effect this.

OLAF BLOCH.

London "Justice."

FREEDOM AND BROTHERHOOD.

Listen, People of Australia!
If you would be free, oh, people—
Be a free and happy people,
Free from spiteful rule of tyrants,
Free from heartless rule of rich men,
From the bitter rule of work-lords,
And the torment of starvation—
Learn the meaning first of freedom,
For you surely cannot gain it
Till you learn to know its meaning!

Listen, People of Australia!
From yourselves your fate is fashioned:
All your weal and woe is woven.
I will tell you what is freedom:

First, that each and every person
In his doing deeds, or shunning,
Neither do the deeds nor shun them
For the sake of rules and rulers—
Only for the sake of fitness.
He who acts for rules or rulers
Rather than his action's fitness,
Fastens fetters on his fellows—
Is the yoke of superstition—
Is the strong arm of the tyrant.

Second, each and every person
Must at heart be keenly zealous
For his fellows' satisfaction—
In his inmost heart find needful
That they, too, may live completely,
Live the life that springs within them;
This your safe and only motto—
"For ourselves and for each other!"
Passing by all codes and standards,
All the laws and institutions,
For this simple plan of brethren.
He who will not take this motto—
Cares not for his fellows' welfare,
Holds them not at heart his equals—
He is not a man among you,
He is but a beast of rapine!

From yourselves are your conditions;
From your hearts your fates are fashioned,
From your spirit to each other
All your weal or woe is woven.

SIDNEY, AUSTRALIA, WORKMAN.

To Jewish Sections and Branches.

Wilshire's leaflet, "Why American Workingmen Should Be Socialists," has been translated into Jewish, and can now be had at $1.25 per 1,000 or $1.50, if sent by mail or express. Address all orders to

LABOR NEWS CO.,
64 East 4th Street, New York.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

UNCLE SAM & BROTHER JONATHAN

Brother Jonathan—I heard a magnificent sermon last Fourth in my church.

Uncle Sam—By whom?

B. J.—By the Rev. Cornelius Higginbotham-Spoopendyke. The man is quite a Socialist.

U. S.—That chap is as much a Socialist as a sow is a horse.

B. J.—You seem to think nobody is a Socialist but you.

U. S.—I would be sorry indeed if my conversions went no further than that. But you take for a Socialist every one who coquets with Socialism.

B. J.—Not at all. You seem to think Socialists are much rarer than they are in fact. Fact is, all our citizens are Socialists to a degree.

U. S.—How was that again?

B. J.—Just so. Is not co-operation the ultimate aim of Socialists?

U. S.—Let's say it is.

B. J.—Well; everybody co-operates with everybody else, whether conscious of the fact or not. And that is why I say that all our citizens are Socialists to a degree.

U. S.—And now that you have given your reason, I see whence proceeds your error.

B. J.—Don't they co-operate?

U. S.—Yes. The hen that grubs zealously for her food; that religiously sits on her eggs, produced with the sweat of her brow, and hatches out a brood of chicks; that fattens herself and her little ones—does she work, or don't she?

B. J. (a smile flitting over his mouth)—Guess she does work.

U. S.—And the cook, who, in the summer's heat and the winter's cold, spares no pains to sharpen his knife; who laboriously dives into the chicken-coop, goes through a sort of "blind man's buff" experience, captures a chicken, cuts her throat, "dresses" her, cooks and eats her—does he work or don't he?

B. J.—I should say he does.

U. S.—And her work and his work tended to a common purpose—the comfort of the cook, eh?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—Did she and he co-operate?

B. J.—W-e-l-l—

U. S.—Did she and he co-operate, yes or no?

B. J.—I-d—

U. S.—Yes, or no?

B. J.—Well, yes.

U. S.—Yes. Now, how much good does that kind of co-operation do the chicken?

B. J.—The chicken—

U. S.—Yes; how much good does that sort of "co-operation" do the chicken?

B. J.—Not any that I can se.

U. S.—Suppose I were to tell you that the chicken and the cook are both co-operating with each other, whether conscious of the fact or not—what would you think of that?

B. J.—I refuse to answer.

U. S.—Then I'll answer for you. You would say I was cracking a joke. And that is what all those do who, not understanding the terms they use, talk about everybody co-operating now with everybody else. The "co-operation" of the two classes, capitalist and working class, is the co-operation of the hen that works to fatten the capitalist and of the cook who "co-operates" by appropriating the hen's work and eating her up. When Socialists talk of co-operation they mean the overthrow and ending of such rascality; they mean the uprooting of such "co-operation"; they mean the establishment of a social system under which the machinery of production is owned collectively, and, as a result thereof, the fruits of co-operative labor are the property of and are enjoyed by the producers. You will perceive that this sort of co-operation is a horse of a different color, it is not the continuance but the upsetting of the present co-operation.

B. J.—According to this I was all wrong.

U. S.—Yes, and your Rev. Cornelius Stick-in-the-Mud is a "co-operator" of the stripe of the cook above mentioned, a sort of "co-operator" whose life Socialism will make extremely burdensome.

To Irish Comrades.

All the copies of the pamphlet "The Rights of Ireland and the Faith of a Felon," received from Dublin from the Irish Socialist Republican Party, have been sold out; and there only remain on hand samples of the handsome green due card of the Irish Socialist Republican Party, which can be had at 5 cents each from

Labor News Co.,
64 E. 4th street, New York City.

ATTITUDE
of the
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY
towards
TRADE UNIONS.

The attitude of Socialism towards trade-unionism is so plain; it is so clearly defined in the repeated declarations of Socialist national conventions and international congresses; and it has always been so consistently maintained in every country where a Socialist Labor Party exists, that there is no possible or plausible misunderstanding of it.

In the first place, Socialism not only recognizes but prominently holds to view the fact, that under the present economic system there is of necessity a class struggle between the possessing or capitalist class and the dispossessed or wage-working class; that this struggle is irrepressible and incessant; that every worker is constantly threatened with reductions of wages or loss of employment; that he naturally seeks to defend his daily pittance from the greed of the enemy; that he cannot, singly, make any defence, and that he must, consequently, unite with his fellows for purposes of combined resistance, the first step in this direction being a union of the workers of the same trade, necessarily followed by an alliance between the various trades.

In the economic organization of labor known as trade-unionism, then, see not only a logical development of the class struggle (and a sufficient proof in itself of the existence of that struggle, which is sometimes foolishly or knavishly denied), but also and above all a first manifestation of that class spirit, class consciousness, class solidarity, which the wage-working people must fully acquire before they can achieve their complete emancipation.

For these reasons the Socialists have always and everywhere been foremost in the work of organizing and maintaining trade-unions. They perceived the practical value of such class bodies, especially for class education, in defeat as well as in victory. It seemed to them impossible that men frequently brought together for the discussion of their common interests, and confronted at every step by new difficulties, new hardships, new experiences resulting from the progressive development of capitalism, should not some day inquire into the mechanism of a system that made it necessary for them to thus coalesce, and battle and suffer, yet all in vain. And it was confidently expected, that, in the flood of light which the Socialists could cast upon it, this system would at last be plainly exposed from branch to root, from top to foundation.

The following facts and tendencies, in particular, would impress themselves clearly and deeply upon th minds of organized workmen and, through the widespread teachings of these, upon the whole laboring class:

Under the capitalist system the labor power of the worker—his muscle, his skill, his time, in other words, his very life—is a merchandise, which he must sell from day to day to some capitalist (that is, to some owner of the means of production), in order to obtain his daily means of subsistence. He cannot, like the capitalist, put his merchandise on the shelf until a better price is offered; sell he must, every morning, his day's labor power, or starve the following day.

True, in order to subsist also the capitalist, who, as such, produces nothing, must buy labor power. He could, however, bide his time and absolutely dictate his terms if his relations with his employers were the only consideration in the management of his business; for the stores of wealth at his command, all produced by former labor and appropriated by him as profits, would enable him to outlive in luxurious idleness any number of workmen out of employment and therefore starving.

On what, then, depends the price of labor power?

There are two periods in the development of Capitalism—the period of Competition and the period of Concentration—gradually connected with a third and intermediate one that we may call the period of Transition.

In the first period no capitalist can afford to suspend operations for any length of time, because his competitors might distance him. Loss of business, ruin, perhaps, would follow. In this period, also, machinery is in its infancy and the comparatively small quantity of labor which it displaces finds re-employment in the new industries or enterprises which this very machinery is inducing. While these conditions prevail there is no great army of unemployed people, no intense competition among the workers for the privilege of serving a master, and the rate of wages is primarily determined in each country by the traditional standard of living among its workers; that is, by the average pittance upon which people of their class have long been accustomed to subsist. It may, at times, according to the state of business, rise above or fall below that average. A fall, of course, always occurs during those periodical crises which from the very beginning of the capitalist system have been a feature of it; but when a rise takes place under the pressure of a demand for labor power, the capitalist carefully sees to it that the intensity of toil and the amount of work performed compensate him fully for his increased disbursement.

Next comes the period of Transition. Improved machinery and the consequent necessity of greater capital to carry on production upon an enlarged and constantly enlarging scale—besides crises and consequent failures—are not only driving out of business the smaller concerns but compelling the amalgamation of private firms and the association of capitalists into corporations. The tendency to concentration is clearly perceptible. In this period the labor displaced can no longer find re-employment to the same extent as before. The reserve army of unemployed workers—which it costs the capitalist nothing to maintain, but upon which he can draw in case of need—is steadily growing. Competition on the "labor market" is correspondingly increasing. The rate of wages becomes more variable, but plainly shows, upon the whole, a declining tendency. It no longer depends as much on the old-established standard of living; it is more and more determined by the minimum price for which the unemployed laborers will consent to take the place of the employed, and therefore also, to a great extent, by the magnitude and strength of labor organization.

Finally comes the period of Concentration. The change from ancient to modern methods of manufacture, transportation and distribution is nearly complete. Agriculture itself is undergoing a rapid transformation. Machinery has reached a high degree of perfection, yet is being constantly improved. The labor which it displaces must now remain permanently unemployed, unless new markets may be found abroad; for the product is ample for domestic needs, owing to the low purchasing power of the masses of the people. As the capacity of production is practically unlimited, and as the trustified capitalists are more than ever thirsting for profits, an attempt is made to find outlets in foreign countries. Domestic competition, which the trusts have killed, is for a while succeeded by international competition. Masses of labor in each country are arrayed against masses of labor in all the other countries; and thus the war goes on until the trusts, previously national, become international. But it has just been observed that each market is already supplied to the full extent of its requirements before the attempt is made by the trusts of different countries to invade each other's territory. The invasion cannot therefore be so much in the concrete form of products as in the purely arithmetical form of a reduction of prices. So that very little more labor is employed during than before this international conflict for commercial supremacy. Moreover, it is not employed until the general rate of wages has been sufficiently forced down to permit of making the necessary reduction of prices without reducing the profits of the trusts; for the trusts would not seek new markets abroad if they could not thereby add to the profits which they are making on their domestic markets. Mark also that machinery, formerly more advanced in one country than in another, is now equally effective in all countries. Therefore, this final battle for the conquest of the world's commerce is fought between the trusts at the sole expense of labor. While it lasts the rate of wages, which previously depended in each country upon the competition between its own unemployed and employed workers, has come to depend everywhere upon the competition between the unemployed and the employed of the whole world. A fall at one point is immediately felt, over frontiers and across oceans, throughout the industrial universe. The labor question is no longer merely national; it is international.

When the capitalistic conflict is at an end; when the international amalgamation of the trusts has been achieved (and probably long before) organized labor—which in earlier days was able to offer some successful resistance, then resisted more and more desperately but less and less successfully—is at last reduced to absolute impotency on the economic field. Although the reserve army of labor out of work is greater than it was at any previous time, neither the competition of the unemployed, nor the organization of the employed is any longer a factor in the determination of wages. There is no longer, in fact, a "labor market," or any sort of market in the competitive sense of former days, when supply and demand regulated prices through some haggling process between sellers and purchasers. Organized capital is sovereign; and this omnipotent god of human creation, far from being a myth, arbitrarily fixes the prices of all things, including labor power, and disposes of the human race according to his own interest or fancy.

Having thus traced out the development of this monstrous system in the past and its inevitable outcome in the near future as plainly shown by its present tendencies, the organized workers would naturally be expected to inquire into the very sources of its life and power. And they would soon find it rooted in political ground.

All government is instituted to so uphold and promote the prevailing economic system that the latter may develop in accordance with its own nature. Under Feudalism government is of the lords, by the lords, for the lords. Under Capitalism government is of the capitalists, by the capitalists, for the capitalists. Under Socialism only can government be of the people, by the people and for the people.

The foundation of capitalism is private property in the means of production—including land, buildings, machinery and all products in the state of merchandise. To protect, strengthen and enlarge this foundation is therefore the fundamental duty of government under capitalism. Any policy by which one stone of it might be loosened would be destructive of capitalistic order; any failure to consolidate every part of it as the capitalistic structure rises would endanger capitalistic society; while any attempt of the discontented to shake it would be revolutionary and must be resisted at all hazards by the public powers.

From the very beginning of the system government must consequently divest itself of all property capable of yielding a "profit" and in the ownership of which the whole people might claim a common share or interest. The public domain is divided among private individuals: all the public franchises from the operation of which a net revenue may be derived are given away to private corporations; nothing is retained by the city or the nation but such property, rights and functions as must in the nature of things prove a public burden; and a great capitalist class is thus created, upon which the laboring people must in the future absolutely depend for the means of living and to which the government itself must look for its necessary supplies.

Arrived at this point in their investigation of social causes and effects, the organized workers might be expected to clearly see the only way of their class to freedom. They might still—nay, they would still—step by step and chiefly for purposes of agitation among their less enlightened fellow wage slaves, resist the aggressions of individual employers, judiciously using the "strike" and the "boycott" in self-defense; but they would cease to consider the economic field as the one upon which they could, with such weapons, gain any permanent advantage against the tremendous enginery of concentrated capital. To capture government, to turn its all-powerful artillery against the fortified structure of iniquity called capitalism, and then recast its metal into a great co-operative engine of public welfare, would be their great aim, the only one deserving of constant effort and self-sacrifice.

All these expectations of the Socialists were fully realized on the European continent. As soon as the anti-coalition laws were so amended as to give the laboring class, under many restrictions, some right of association, they set to work with their accustomed vigor and fearlessness. Every trade-union in France, Germany, Belgium, Austria, Italy, Spain and the Scandinavian countries was organized by Socialists, upon Socialist principles, for combined action on Socialist lines. We have the results before us. Leaving aside Germany, where the political working class movement was already so advanced that the economic organizations could not materially add to its strength, we find that in the last ten years Socialism has been so steadily moving onward to the conquest of the public powers, that, in the vain hope of checking its progress, capitalism and its governments have made concession upon concession to the laboring people. In Belgium and in Austria the disinherited masses, until lately deprived of the suffrage, are now represented in Parliament. In France, upon labor issues, the Socialist delegation in the House of Representatives drove out of power three prime ministers and compelled a President of the Republic to seek peace in private retirement. In the same country, last year, the Socialists carried by a vote of 1,400,000 the municipal and communal councils of 29 great cities and 1,200 towns.

Now observe that all over the European continent strikes are few and far between. When for some reason one must absolutely take place no "leader" luxuriates while the rank and file are starving. Then class solidarity asserts itself, and pennies by the million promptly come down from hovels and rookeries in aid of the strikers. No "big union treasury," no "cash in the bank." The British notion that "capital must be fought with capital," or that "a smart business man must have sole charge of the affairs of the union," if any one gave it utterance, would cause more merriment than any other absurdity that ever found lodgment in the brain of a fool, or than any other scheme that ever was concocted by a "labor fakir." These poor people know that the strength of their union is in the spirit of its members and in the active sympathy, not of middle class skinners, politicians and newspapers, but of their own proletarian class. Should this strike be lost, instead of dispersing they will the more closely stand together; they will also the more strongly urge upon others the necessity of striking at the polls. Thus it is more and more at the ballot box that the oppressed meet their oppressors, and no union card would save a political "scab" from condign punishment for the odious crime of betraying his class on Election day.

When we turn to this country the contrast is great; and it seems the greater in the glaring light cast upon it by the more advanced development of capitalism in America than in Europe. The facts and tendencies above mentioned are here so obvious, so suggestive, than no deep investigation of the subject would appear necessary for the adoption of sound tactics, resting on sound principles. Yet the old-style labor organization, which originated in Great Britain in the earliest days of capitalism, and was from there imported here, ignores all these facts and their plainest teachings. In the words of the Manifesto of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance to the wage workers of America, "It comes to undertake the impossible, namely, the reversing of the downward tendency of wages, while the capitalist system, of which this tendency is the inevitable fruit, continues to exist. That is the false promise by which it has sought (and still seeks) to rally the workers. * * * From this false basis, this disregard of controlling factors, leading to such false promises and consequent disappointments, grew all that has been disgraceful and discouraging in the labor movement: defeats, dissensions, dishonesty, distrust."

In other words, the old style organization, in America as well as in Great Britain, is now petrified, motionless, as it was and where it was seventy-five years ago. Or it might be more accurate to say that it has moved backward, if at all, while the economic and political machinery of capitalism was moving forward and profoundly modifying all the environment. For, unable to accomplish as much in the economic field as it once could with the strike, held in contempt by politicians who once feared its power but now use its corrupt leaders to mislead its credulous members, it has forbidden within its precincts the very politics which it should encourage and the only ones which it should permit; silenced, as "tainted with Socialism" and apt to discredit its associates in the eyes of employers and the capitalist press, every workman within its ranks honest and capable enough to show in its true light the nature of the class struggle; resolved itself into a close corporation that denounces as a "scab" any craftsman to whom it refuses admittance in order to secure for its own membership a monopoly of capitalistic kicks and favors; stupidly begged from American capital its protection against the "pauper labor" of Europe, while this same capital provided itself, every year, with millions of "pauper laborers" of iron, and steel costing 8 cents per day to feed with machine oil and coal; converted itself, when it had some funds, into small middle class insurance concerns and charitable institutions for the doctoring of its sick, the burial of its dead, and the renumerative employment of its officers; in a word, repudiated the labor movement, blotted out its history and sealed its own dead warrant.

It is quite plain, however, to every Socialist that this sinking away of the old-style trade-unionism is only the prelude to a new organization of the labor forces upon the lines marked out by the new economic and political conditions; an organization in full sympathy and active co-operation with the great international working class movement, and capable of accomplishing here—in a shorter time owing to the more rapid developments—as great results as that irresistible movement is accomplishing on the European continent. In fact, such an organization is already in the field. It spontaneously issued, at the necessary time, from a labor situation pregnant with the social revolution, and thousands of workers still held by fear in bondage to their decrepit unions, are anxiously watching its progress and longing for the day when by joining it they will swell the international army of emancipation.

We refer here to the Socialistic Trade and Labor Alliance, which the National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party has fully indorsed and which it is the duty of every Socialist in the United States to promote by all the legitimate means at his command.

National Executive Committee,
HENRY KUHN, Secy.

Books that Ought to Be Read.

The following books can be obtained by mailing price and one-tenth of price for postage, to the New York Labor News Co., 64 East Fourth street, New York City. Send for full catalogue.

"The Condition of the Working Class in England, 1844."—By Fredrick Engels	$1 25
"Capital,"—By Carl Marx.—An exhaustive dissertation on political economy from the most advanced and scientific standpoint. Bound.	2 00
Paper	1 20
"Co-operative Commonwealth."—An Exposition of Socialism, by Laurence Gronlund	50
"Socialism vs. Tax Reform."—By Laurence Gronlund	10
"Socialism."—By William Scholl McClure	10
"A Traveler from Altruria."—By William Dean Howells. Cloth	1 50
Paper	50
"Merrie England."—By Robert Blatchford	10
"The Fabian Essays."—By H. G. Wilshire. Paper	25
"French and German Socialism."—By Prof. Richard T. Ely	25
"Six Centuries of Work and Wages."—By J. E. Thorold Rogers	25
"Quintessence of Socialism."—By Dr. A. Schaeffle	15
"Reform or Revolution."—By Daniel De Leon	05
"The Evolution of Property."—By Lafargue	1 00
"Heterodox Economies vs. Orthodox Profits.—By Henry B. Ashplant	12
"Patriotism and Socialism."—By G. B. Benham	5
"Ancient Society."—By Prof. Lewis Morgan	4 00
"National Party Platforms from "1798 to 1896."—By J. M. H. Frederick	25
"Philosophy of Wage-Slaves.—By T. Bresford	10
"What's to be Done?"—By N. G. Tchernychewsky (new edition).	50
"Modern Socialism."—By Rev. Charles H. Vail	25
"The Coming Social Struggle."—By William Edlin	5

Socialist Weekly and Monthly Publications.

ENGLISH.

THE PEOPLE, 184 William street, New York, N. Y. $1 per year.
The New Charter, 35 Turk street, San Francisco, Cal. $1 per year.
The Syracuse Socialist,—
The Rochester Socialist (Monthly). 25 cents per year.
The Beacon, Johnston, R. I. (Fortnightly). 50 cents per year.
The Socialist Alliance, 79 Dearborn street, Chicago. 50 cents per year.

GERMAN.

Vorwärts, 184 William street, New York, N. Y. $1.50 per year.
Cleveland Volksfreund, 237 Clair street, Cleveland, Ohio. $2 per year.

DANISH-NORWEGIAN.

Arbejderen, 6832 Marshfield avenue, Chicago, Ill. $1.50 per year.

SWEDISH.

Arbetaren, 35 and 37 Frankfort street, New York, N. Y. $1.50 per year.

POLISH.

Sila, 1146 Broadway, Buffalo, N. Y. $1 per year.

JEWISH.

Arbeiterzeitung, 9 Rutgers street, New York, N. Y. $1 per year.

HUNGARIAN.

Nepszava, 236 East 4th street, New York, N. Y. $1 per year.

ENGLISH AND GERMAN.

The Truth, 514 West 3d street, Davenport, Iowa. $1 per year.

S. L. P. Sections take Notice.

The well-known and inspiring song, written by comrade Peter E. Burrowes, of Brooklyn, under the title "The Hand with the Hammer," has been set to new and beautiful music by the Russian composer Platon Brounoff, and can now be had at the Labor News Co., 64 East Fourth street, New York.

The price for single copies is 10 cents, but a liberal discount will be given to dealers, encouraging them to push the sale of the song.

No section of the party should fail to form a chorus and sing this song at their public meetings and other public demonstrations.

THE LABOR NEWS CO.,
64 East 4th street, N. Y.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Supplemental.

TO THE PEOPLE:—In my article that appeared in THE PEOPLE of last June 20, describing the inner workings of a model necktie establishment I omitted one very important functionary—to wit, the spy, or "detective," as he would probably style himself. He is a poor relation of the boss, and his ostensible occupation is that of cutter. The reason for his existence I don't know; he is supposed to watch the cutters so that they cannot "cabbage" the silk necessary to make a tie (as some underpaid underlings, whom custom requires to be well dressed, had taken the privilege accorded the high priced articles in the sales department, and helped themselves). In reality, the boss, who looks on the workers as "animals," and whom the sight of a Socialist would throw into convulsions, expects this spy to report any language which may be used by any worker that could be construed to mean rebellion of any kind; the offender is then immediately discharged. In fact the system is as admirable as that of the Czar of Russia, and tends to keep the cattle in bounds.

The boss, like a good many others of his tribe, desiring to make a good appearance at the McKinley business (?) men's parade last fall, gave his cattle a day off to ensure their appearance, and then, showing how little he cared for their votes, made them work on Election day to make up for it.

Of course the "animals," as the boss calls them, do nothing but sing his praises from morning to night. 'For if you took away their good, kind indulgent master, their loving boss, WHO would give them a bone to pick or a rag to cover their nakedness?"

ONE OF THE VICTIMS.
Jersey City, July 4.

A True Story.

TO THE PEOPLE:—The following conversation took place yesterday in my presence between a man and his young "hopeful:"

"Pa, what does a reform mean?"

"Why, my son?"

"Because when I was in Kelly's on the corner for some beer for the man downstairs, some of the men who made you go out on strike last winter were there, and one of them was telling the others that Mayor Strong's reform made him sick, and all the others said it made them sick, too. Does Mr. Kelly keep the kind of reform they want; if it is, I think that it makes them as sick as Mr. Strong's stuff, for when I saw Mr. A—— come out, his hat was mashed down over one eye, the other was black, his coat was torn and dirty, and he was so tired he could not stand; a big policeman kindly picked him up and put him into a beautiful carriage with two other policemen; then they took him to a nice big house, where there were nice large green and red lights. On the way there he was always shouting 'Rah! rah! for reform!', same as you did last fall when you put on your soldier clothes and paraded and hurrahed for McKinley and sound money——"

"Hush up, boy! You're not big enough to understand such things yet; when you are older then you'll know all about it."

"But Pa, I heard you say the other day that you had ought to be kicked by a jackass for making such a fool of yourself; you said you voted yourself out of a job, and that you did not even get the sound of money since McKinley and the reformers got in."

"Yes, my son, I'll own up I got it in the neck. I see it all now; and the next time I vote for any reform that the capitalists or their tools, the labor fakirs, want me to, just you go and hire Murphy's jackass to kick me as soundly as I deserve. Hereafter I shall vote and work for your mamma and you and myself. I shall join the Socialists; they do not permit themselves to be swerved from the right path by any plea for reform made by capitalists or their tools; they don't want reform; nothing short of revolution will do them; and hereafter nothing short of revolution will do me."

When he got so far I chimed in with: "Right, old fellow, reform by the capitalist class is much worse than Kelly's whiskey."

GEORGE P. HERRSCHAFT.
New York, July 5.

Rejected by a Capitalist "Reform" Paper.

TO THE PEOPLE:—I suppose the following article was too radical for the bunco-steering capitalist sheet, the "World," and too undigestible for the befogged brain of its editor. Will THE PEOPLE give it space after its non-appearance in the above named fake paper?

"New York, June 24th.

"To the Editor of the 'World:'

"The 'World's' crusade against the unbearable noises of our city, both private and public, is highly commendable; but what is the real cause for this evil, and what is the real remedy for it?

"For the sake of suffering humanity, be men and women enough to study the cause of this evil, as most of the other evils afflicting our so called civilized society, and you will have to admit that it is the private ownership of the means of production system of competition for private gain; this is at the bottom of it all. It is not alone a Vanderbilt who says: 'The public be damned,' but all other profit-making concerns will say the same if you try to interfere with their alleged "vested rights" to make as much noise as they please so long as it furthers their personal gains. The noise don't hurt their nerves, for they can simply go yachting and hobnobbing with nobility in Europe. But what about their wage-slaves, who have to work in their factories and workshops for ten and twelve hours a day in the din of machinery, or the men who are employed in the transportation and delivery of their goods? What about 'the forgotten men,' forgotten, except as voting cattle at election time, who have to dwell in the crowded tenement districts, where they have, after a day's nerve-destroying work in the factory, to endure the noise of offspring, of the growing up wage-slaves, who get no other playground than the sidewalks in front of the workers' 'homes,' because the grass has to be kept green in the park!

"It would be a good deal better for us all if 'this most valuable part of the community—the thinkers, the brain workers,' would do a little more real practical thinking, and not waste their valuable nerves and brain power in the service of our crazy competitive system of industry and commerce. Only in the Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth can mankind reach the highest level of intelligence and comfort.

"A WORKINGMAN WHO THINKS."

Had I flabbergasted, the "World" would have printed me. As I didn't, I went into the waste basket. A. W. T.

New York, July 2.

Sends Cheers.

TO THE PEOPLE:—Inclosed please find $1 to pay my subscription to this splendid paper another year.

THE PEOPLE is doing grand service for the proletariat and the cause of Socialism, and I am glad to add to the numberless other indorsements it receives this expression of my unqualified pleasure at its enlightened, aggressive and uncompromising course. Health and long life to its management, and success to revolutionary Socialism!

FRANCIS TIDDY.
Piedmont, W. Va., June 30.

PARTY NEWS.

Activity of Militant Socialists East, West, North and South.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Secretary Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, N. Y.

NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Secretary M. S. Hayes, 113 Champlain St., Cleveland, O.

National Executive Committee.

At the meeting held July 6th Comrade Matchett was in the chair. Comrades Bennett, Furman and Moore were absent and excused. The financial report for the week ending July 3rd showed receipts to be $17, expenditures $129.64; deficit for the week $112.14.

The treasurer reported that the semi-annual report was ready for the auditors, and the organizer of Section New York was notified in regard to this.

Section Lynn, Mass., sent a communication stating that there appeared in the "Clarion" of London, England, a reading notice according to which Herbert N. Casson, who is an expelled member of Section Lynn, was to deliver lectures to Socialist organizations of any kind. The Lynn Section desire that the English Comrades be warned against accepting the said Casson as a representative of the Socialist movement. During the last campaign Mr. Casson was one of the organizers and speakers of the "new" or Bryan Democracy, the same Democracy whose chosen representatives in the House and Senate of the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts, voted unanimously for the McKinley Republican candidate for speaker of the House, John L. Bates, and the candidate of the same party for president of the Senate, George R. Lawrence. English Socialists who stand for a class-conscious proletarian movement should therefore give the Rev. Herbert N. Casson a wide berth.

L. A. MALKIEL, Rec. Secy.

Result of the General Vote for Delegate to the S. T. & L. A. National Convention.

Name of Section.	Brophy.	Bandlow.	Keep.
Blockton, Ala.	13	..	..
Bridgeport, Conn.	7	..	1
Meriden, Conn.	15	..	..
New Haven, Conn., No. 1.	24	..	4
Rockville, Conn., No. 1.	16	..	..
Washington, D. C.	2	..	22
Evansville, Ind.	..	13	..
Fort Wayne, Ind.	12	1	..
Indianapolis, Ind.	11	4	..
Davenport, Ia., No. 1.	1	2	12
Louisville, Ky., No. 1.	14	..	..
Louisville, Ky., No. 2.	7	..	..
Boston, Mass., No. 2.	7	..	7
Boston, Mass., No. 3.	..	1	14
Boston, Mass., No. 7.	1	..	11
South Boston, Mass.	14	..	..
Haverhill, Mass., No. 1.	..	1	14
Haverhill, Mass., No. 2.	..	9	..
Somerville, Mass.	2	..	4
Lynn, Mass.	18	..	1
New Bedford, Mass.	16	..	..
Lawrence, Mass., No. 1.	23	..	1
Holyoke, Mass., No. 1.	8	3	..
Detroit, Mich.	25	..	1
Minneapolis, Minn.	30	..	..
St. Louis, Mo.	9	8	1
Hoboken, N. J., No. 1.	13	..	..
Hoboken, N. J., No. 2.	8	..	1
Newark, N. J.	17	..	1
Elizabeth, N. J., No. 2.	10	..	..
Albany, N. Y.	11	..	..
Buffalo, N. Y.	11	6	21
Long Island City, N. Y.	15	..	..
Gloversville, N. Y.	..	10	..
Wykoff Heights, N. Y.	..	..	9
Utica, N. Y., No. 1.	10	..	1
College Point, N. Y.	3	1	3
Opelda, N. Y.	2	4	3
Schenectady, N. Y.	10	..	..
Yonkers, N. Y.	13	..	4
Batavia, N. Y.	5	..	..
City of New York, N. Y.	308	47	47
Dayton, O.	9	6	..
Cincinnati, O., No. 1.	9	1	2
Cleveland, O.	2	44	..
Allentown, Pa.	10	..	2
Philadelphia, Pa.	24	11	19
Pittsburg, Pa., No. 1.	20	..	..
Chester, Pa.	3	2	7
Fredericksburg, Va.	..	..	6
Richmond, Va.	..	..	10
Milwaukee, Wis.	14	..	20
Sheboygan, Wis.	13	1	1
Totals	815	175	250

By order of the National Executive Committee,

HENRY KUHN, Secy.

Massachusetts.

HOLYOKE, July 4.—The members of Section Holyoke met on Sunday afternoon, July 4, at the Springdale Turn Hall, and elected these members to form the new State Committee: George L. Lovell, Moritz E. Ruther, Edward A. Buckland, Max H. Tiedemann, Moritz C. Kurth, Alex. Lapointe, August Pertews.

The committee then organized as follows: Moritz E. Ruther, secretary; Alex. Lapointe, assistant secretary;

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George L. Lovell, recording secretary; Max H. Tiedemann, treasurer; Edward A. Buckland, editor of Literary Committee.

The address of the new State Secretary is Moritz E. Ruther, Holyoke, Mass.

The committee will issue subscription lists in aid of the State campaign.

VOTE OF MASSACHUSETTS SECTIONS ON SEAT OF STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

	Holyoke. Votes.	Boston. Votes.
Springfield Sec.	17	0
Haverhill, Amer. Sec.	20	0
Northampton, Pol. Sec.	13	0
Boston, Amer. Sec.	16	82
Boston, Jewish Sec.	24	0
Fitchburg Sec.	11	0
Boston, Rox., Ger. Sec.	10	2
Holyoke, Ger. Sec.	18	0
Haverhill, Jewish Sec.	8	1
Holyoke, Amer. Sec.	11	0
Adams, Ger. Sec.	0	9
Somerville, Amer. Sec.	5	1
Clinton, Ger. Sec.	14	0
Lawrence, Amer. Sec.	6	3
Pittsfield Sec.	3	5
Worcester, Amer. Sec.	0	12
Fall River, Sec. No. 3.	0	12
Lynn, Amer. Sec.	0	17
South Boston, Ger. Sec.	1	14
Lawrence, Ger. Sec.	59	0
Easthampton, Ger. Sec.	10	0
New Bedford, Ger. Sec.	12	2
South Boston, Amer. Sec.	0	16
Westfield, Amer. Sec.	18	1
Boston, No. 7, Danish Sec.	16	0
Fall River, Sec. No. 1.	7	3
Total votes	299	180
	180	

Majority for Holyoke...119

S. E. PUTNEY, Secretary.

Missouri.

Report of Missouri State Committee, S. L. P., for the month of June, 1897:

RECEIPTS.

Carried forward from May	$6.07
June 9—Sec. St. Louis, 20 due stamps	2.00
June 14—Sec. Birier, 35 due stamps	3.50
June 30—Sec. St. Louis, 20 due stamps	2.00
Total	$13.57

EXPENDITURES.

June 9—Henry Kuhn, for 100 due stamps	$5.00
June 9—Post office order	5
June 9—Postage stamps	30
June 9—Paste	10
June 16—Postage stamps	50
Total	$5.95
Balance on hand	$7.62

LEWIS C. FRY, Secretary.

NEW YORK.

Report of the Executive Committee of Sect. Greater New York in the Matter of the Reorganization of the 4th, 8th and 12th Assembly Districts of the Borough of Manhattan and the 16th Ward, Branch I, of the Borough of Brooklyn.

Comrades—At the regular meeting of the General Committee of Section Greater New York, held Saturday, June 26th, a written report was submitted by the organizer, together with a statement of complaint, signed by a large number of Jewish Comrades, most of whom are well known in our party movement.

Said report and statement set forth that there existed in the aforesaid subdivisions of the Greater New York Section a chaotic state of affairs, caused by the formation of an organization outside of the party, yet controlling the affairs of the party in said sub-divisions, by means of a majority obtained by a systematized and unscrupulous packing of the districts with the adherents of this organization. That this organization was formed for the purpose of hostilizing, and if possible overthrowing, the policy of the party as determined upon in national convention and confirmed by general vote; that it reviled the representatives of the party who stood for this policy and the party itself, and rode rough-shod over the protesting minority of loyal members of the party in these districts.

The General Committee, after hearing the complaint, by a vote of 49 against 15, decided to refer the complaint to the Executive Committee for investigation, with power to suspend and reorganize the districts in question, if the statement of complaint was found to be correct.

The Executive Committee, in carrying out their instructions, called a meeting for Thursday, July 1st, to which representatives of both the majority and minority in each district were invited. The minority did appear; the majority did not, but sent, instead, communications, stating that they could not elect and send representatives because the organizations in question had not yet held a meeting. The officers of the districts also refused to produce the minutes and financial books, as ordered by the Executive Committee, with the exception of the 4th and 8th Assembly Districts, the financial books of which were produced.

Under these circumstances the Executive Committee proceeded with the examination of the representatives of the complainant minority, of which there had appeared, two from the 4th and 8th Assembly Districts, two from the 16th Ward, Brooklyn, and one from the 12th Assembly District.

In order to give the majority another opportunity to appear, a meeting was determined upon and held on Sunday, July 4th, and the organizer instructed to duly notify the organizations to appear and bring their books with them.

At this meeting letters were received from the 4th and 12th Assembly Districts wherein they feigned ignorance of the charges made, and demanded the investigation to be conducted under conditions to be imposed by them. They also objected to the Executive Committee handling the charges.

While no one appeared for the majority in the 4th District, there were present one spokesman each from the 8th and 12th Assembly Districts. These, however, refused to be examined, the one from the 8th declaring that his district refuses to recognize the jurisdiction and authority of the Executive Committee.

Later on there appeared two spokesmen from the 16th Ward, Branch I., of Brooklyn. Both of them disclaimed having any knowledge of the charges. They refused to be examined as representatives of their branch, but were ready to answer questions in their capacity as individual members.

Not one of the districts complied with the demand of the Executive Committee to produce their recording and financial books.

It was apparent that they all acted according to one pre-arranged plan, and that they pursued a policy of procrastination, which policy was determined upon at a meeting of the "press clubs" held on Thursday, July 1st, at Walhalla Hall.

After summing up the situation as a whole in all its bearings upon party interests, the Executive Committee, in concluding the investigation, finds as follows:

1. That there has been created in each of the four districts a treasonable machine, under the name of "Press Clubs," formed for the purpose of aiding and abetting the paper "Forward," a sheet published in the Jewish language, which is openly and maliciously attacking the party, its policy and chosen representatives, and has been started by them with the avowed purpose of destroying the now official Jewish organs of the party, namely, the "Arbeiter-Zeitung" and "Abendblatt."

2. That the district organizations were made absolutely subservient to the ends of these Press Clubs. The party meetings were unduly shortened in order to clear the hall for the sessions of the Press Clubs. As little time as possible was devoted to party business, and after its conclusion, loyal members of the party, not being in good grace with this element, were ordered from the hall, the rent of which was paid out of the party's funds.

The members of these Press Clubs, when at the district meetings, were a unit in exploiting the district organizations for Press Club purposes, voting for appropriations from party funds for the use of the paper "Forward," and the objections of loyal members, who protested against seeing part of their dues used for purposes inimical to the party, were of no avail.

In the 16th Ward, Branch I., of the Borough of Brooklyn, this machine went even so far as to vote that each member pay two months' dues for which he was to get no stamp, "crediting the branch with two stamps," as it was put, and in this way they defrauded not only the Section but also the State and National Executive Committee, and were guilty besides of flagrant violation of the party's constitution.

In each of the four districts appropriations were made by this machine out of the party's funds for the paper "Forward."

3. That this whole movement has been organized and is under the control of a set of ambitious persons, who boast of their contempt and hostility for the Socialist Labor party, its policy and its representative officials. One of these, named Louis E. Miller, who, by word of mouth and through written articles showed his leanings toward Populism, and is now openly advocating in the "Forward" the Debs plan, and lauding the same as a class-conscious movement, at a party meeting recently held, stated that he had voted for Goff, when Republican candidate for Recorder in 1894, and that he was less ashamed for having done so than other Comrades had reason to be ashamed for having voted for a candidate of the Socialist Labor party.

Another of them, named M. Zametkin, the editor of the paper "Forward," delivered a speech at a public mass meeting held under the auspices of the said Press Clubs, at new Irving Hall, on Thursday, June 17th, from which the following is an extract: " * * * The foul odor of our party was felt even across the Atlantic Ocean, and a man like Kautsky was prompted to say that neither is De Leon fit to be editor of THE PEOPLE nor is THE PEOPLE fit to be an organ of a Socialist party." * * * * "We have no Socialist party now, that which calls itself Socialist Labor party, with De Leon at its head, is worse than Tammany Hall."

These men, together with A. Cahan, M. Winchevsky and others, in order to serve their seditious purposes, were bent upon gaining control of the "Arbeiter-Zeitung" and "Abendblatt," but failing in this owing to the loyal stand taken by these papers, they set up the "Forward," and in its columns hurled abuse and vituperation against the party.

4. That the spirit that animates these leaders is the spirit that sways the Press Clubs, and through them the organizations in the four districts. To accomplish their ends, the loyal members of these districts had to be overwhelmed, and this was done by packing the districts with their followers. Most of these were brought in quite recently, shortly before the formation of Section Greater New York, and among them was an element known to be Anarchistic, or in open hostility to the S. L. P.

5. That the result of these tactics of the "Forward" machine is, that the meetings of these four districts have become schools of disloyalty, where people were taught to speak of the S. L. P. as a Tammany Hall, of its National Executive Committee, its officials and its spokesmen as corrupt and of its policy as scandalous.

Such slanderous denunciations were the favorite subjects of discussion at the district meetings, and were applauded by the Press Club element. The agitation of the party was utterly disregarded; its resolutions were treated with contempt and defiance, and the course to be pursued at party meetings was determined upon at the sessions of the Press Clubs.

The officers of the party, when calling at the district meetings, were decried and denounced as spies. The spirit of rowdyism animating this machine element, manifested itself at the district meetings to such an extent that the loyal members were howled down when protesting, and in some instances they were even set upon and beaten.

Thus many good Comrades kept away in disgust, other people who might have joined were deterred by this state of affairs, and in fact no new members were gained except such as were hostile to the party, and came in for the purpose of aiding the schemes of the "Forward" machine.

At the meeting called by the Press Club element, held at Walhalla Hall on Thursday, July 1st, each comer had to undergo an examination, which was conducted as follows: "Are you a loyal member of the party?"

"Yes."

"Then you cannot come in."

In case the answer was "No," the person was admitted. At this meeting speeches were made by Louis E. Miller, M. Zametkin, M. Winchevsky and others, and its purpose was to discuss the action of the General Committee of Section Greater New York.

The burden of the speeches was that they would not recognize the jurisdiction and authority of the General Committee, and L. E. Miller said, among other things, "That we will leave the party, but will leave it as a ruin."—Report of the Abendblatt.

We find thus a condition that no organization can and would tolerate, and which to allow to continue would be treason to the party; a condition that cannot possibly be expected to abate, but must logically grow worse as time passes on, if an end is not put to it. The best interests of the party imperatively demand that it must be ended.

Aside from the outrages perpetrated upon the loyal portion of the membership, the district organizations are being used for purposes foreign to the mission for which they have been formed, the agitation of the party has come to a dead stop, and an approaching election finds us with these districts in the hands and under the control of an element in open rebellion against the party.

The Executive Committee decides, therefore, in keeping with the instructions of the General Committee, that the 4th, 8th and 12th Assembly Districts of the Borough of Manhattan, and the 16th Ward, Branch I., of the Borough of Brooklyn, shall be and are hereby suspended, and that the said districts and ward be immediately reorganized.

For the Executive Committee of Section Greater New York,

LAZARUS ABELSON, Organizer.

To all loyal members of the S. L. P. residing in the 4th, 8th and 12th Assembly Districts of the Borough of Manhattan and in the 16th Ward (Branch I.) of the Borough of Kings:

All Socialists residing in the aforesaid sub-divisions of Greater New York who have been members of the S. L. P. up to the suspension of the S. L. P. organizations existing in said sub-divisions, and who have not been connected with the treasonable conspiracy of the "Forward" Press Clubs machine, and who are ready to continue as loyal members of the S. L. P. upholding the principles, tactics and decisions of the party, as well as the party's organs, are hereby invited to communicate a declaration to such effect to the undersigned.

Fraternally, by order of the Executive Committee of Section Greater New York, S. L. P.,

L. ABELSON, Organizer,
64 E. 4th street, New York City.

Pennsylvania.

Section Philadelphia will hold a meeting to-day.

Rhode Island.

June 27th, 1897.

Members of the S. L. P. of Rhode Island:

Comrades—The regular semi-annual convention of the Socialist Labor Party of Rhode Island will be held in Textile Hall, 1955 Westminster street, on Friday, July 16th, at 8 p. m.

The order of business will be as follows:

Reports—Selection of seat of State Committee for ensuing year.

New Business—All members are hereby notified to attend, bringing their membership cards.

By order R. I. State Committee, S. L. P. JAMES REID, Secy.

Daily People Minor Fund.

Previously acknowledged	$1,707.45
Adonis Murschinsky, Cleveland, Ohio	1.00
C. Bode, Johnstown, N.Y.	50
W. Shadow, Johnstown, N. Y.	50
Charles Colberg, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
Edward Biesele, New York City	25
H. Schmittgen, Sacramento	80
Add. to Daily People Minor Fund Chas. Turner, Louisville, Ky.	1.00
Collection at Huria's Hall, 38th street, N. Y. City	2.10
Total	$1,714.60

HENRY KUHN, Fin. Secy.

THE DAILY PEOPLE

$50,000 FUND.

Amount Pledged down to July 7th, 1897.

$4,535.

The following amounts have been paid down to July 6th, incl.:	
Previously acknowledged	$1190.90
Meyer Stodel, New Haven, Conn., $1; W. J. M., City, $2; Harry Carless, Newark, N. J., $10; Geo. Bauer, Brooklyn, N. Y., $2; Ab. Herschmann, City, $5; Jos. Dotzler, Brooklyn, N. Y., $2; Jas. S. Carey, Haverhill, Mass., $10; Jules Magnette, Newark, N. J., $10; C. P., Brooklyn, N. Y., $3	43.00
Total	$1233.90

☞ **Pledgers will please keep in mind the dates on which their payments fall due, as per printed list, and remit promptly. If any error appears on the list, correct with equal promptness.**

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184 William St., N. Y.

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S. T. & L. A.

(Continued from Page 1.)

for them, their dissatisfaction with paying dues and being sold out, both in the shop and the hustings, is bound soon to ripen into rebellion. Already O'Connell finds life a burden in his "agitation," where the questions put to him by machinists, formerly dumb, are evidently depriving him of his equanimity, while P. J. McGuire is ever more frantically invoking the aid of every ash barrel refuse of the olden days of pure and simpledom to "write Socialism down."

These few specific illustrations illustrate the situation, which may be rounded up by a mention of the recent labor political convention of Colorado trade-unionists, held in Victor, and at which new trade-unionism scored a decisive victory, indicating the direction in which the tide is setting.

But this review is incomplete without at least cursory mention of the opposition, and the nature of the opposition, that the S. T. & L. A. has had to beat its way through during this year. Calumny of the most infamous nature, infamous in the villainy of the matter and in the cowardice of the manner, was let loose by the labor fakir brigade against both the S. T. & L. A. and the men in whom last year's convention placed its administration. One of the calumniators, more reckles than the rest, was caught, was officially branded by a jury of his peers, despite the connivance of a Tammany judge to secure his escape, and is to-day a fugitive from justice. Nor was the S. T. & L. A. complimented only with the howls that proceeded from the men who for so many years have been trafficking upon the flesh and blood of their own class; our organization was also complimented by the spokesmen of the class that keeps the labor fakir in pay, and with whose aid labor has been kept yoked to the chariot of Capital. On last February 20th, in the Senate of the United States, a desperate effort was made by such capitalist prostituters of labor as David B. Hill, of New York, and Stephen M. White, of California, to pass a bill whose only purport was to give a pension to the vermin Labor Fakirs, seeing that the dues from the rank and file were no longer flowing with the plentifulness of former days; and the argument then made to show the urgency of the demand was A QUOTATION FROM THE PLATFORM OF THE S. T. & L. A.! The quotation was read and listened to with horror; it was urged upon the Senate that such "subversive" doctrines would not be uttered by the workingmen and Capital could rest secure on its usurped throne provided the bill was passed!

Keeping step to these howlings of the foe, whom we boldly attack, we have made steady progress, not indirectly alone, but also directly.

New Local Alliances have been enrolled. Our line now extends as far as St. Louis, where a mixed L. A. has just been founded, and even further West, as far as Los Angeles, where a bricklayers' L. A. now forms our outpost on the Pacific. Besides this, we have organized four new District Alliances, one of which is located in Chicago, where it is conducting a valiant fight.

Receiving strength from, and returning strength to the S. L. P., the agitation we conduct is equally an agitation for the party, and the agitation of the party is equally an agitation for the S. T. & L. A. While on the field for the party, Comrade Harry Carless, of Newark, N. J., visited the convention of the Carriage and Wagonmakers in behalf of the S. T. & L. A., and by his efforts hastened the development among the progressive men in that organization, and enriched the Chicago D. A. with a fighting L. A. of Wagon and Carriagemakers. Many similar instances could be mentioned.

The ripening of the times, towards which the S. T. & L. A. is contributing its share, is bound to swing the Labor Movement of America over to our way. With firmness of purpose, with unflagging activity, with relentless war on all that stands in our way, the future is assuredly ours. As in the political field everything points to the speedy arrival of the day when the S. L. P. will have wiped aside all fake reform parties and will stand in the field with only one capitalist party to oppose it and be routed by it, so likewise on the economic field everything points to the speedy arrival of the day when the S. T. & L. A. shall have cleared the field of the rubbish of "pure and simpledom," and alone shall, under the protection of the cannonade of the S. L. P., be safeguarding the interests of the workers in the present capitalist prison pens, upholding the dignity of the proletariat to the extent that is possible while the Capitalist Systems lasts.

GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD,
ERNEST BOHM, Sec'y.

How to Organize Sections.

All persons dissatisfied with present political and economic conditions, and who believe that the land, water works, gas works, telephone and telegraph lines, the commercial highways on land and sea, with all their appurtenances and equipments; all the mills, mines, factories, machinery, means of production and agencies of distribution, created by the efforts of the laboring class through all the centuries of the past, ought of right to be nationalized, and operated for the benefit of collective humanity, and who are convinced that the disinherited producing class can and must transform the capitalistic methods of production and distribution into a social and co-operative system, are hereby invited to identify themselves with the Socialist Labor Party, which alone goes to the root of our social and economic evils.

1. Any ten person may organize themselves into a section, provided they accept the platform and constitution of the S. L. P., and sever their connection, absolutely, with all other political parties.

2. OFFICERS TO ELECT.

1.—Organizer.
2.—Recording and corresponding secretary.
3.—Financial Secretary.
4.—Treasurer.
5.—Literary agent.
6.—Chairman, each meeting.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

1.—Reading of minutes.
2.—New members.
3.—Correspondence.
4.—Financial report.
5.—Report of organizer.
6.—Report of committees.
7.—Unfinished business.
8.—New business.

4. There shall be no initiation fee charged. Amount of monthly dues is fixed by each section. A monthly remittance of 10 cents per member shall be made to the National Executive Committee.

5. A full report of the first meeting, including a list of members, with inclosure of 10 cents per capita, is necessary to obtain a charter.

6. Per capita checks are furnished by the National Executive Committee at 10 cents each; such checks are pasted in monthly column on the membership card, and charged to members at such excess rate as will cover the amount of dues fixed by the section.

7. Each section shall hold a regular business meeting at least once a month, and semi-monthly meetings for public discussion or lectures on political or economic questions.

8. Quarterly reports of the numerical strength and financial standing of members, party progress and prospects, shall be promptly sent to the National Executive Committee.

9. Any person residing in a city or town where no section of the party exists may make direct application to the National Secretary, inclosing one month's dues, and will thus be enrolled as members at large.

For pamphlets, leaflets, platforms and other information, address the National Secretary, Henry Kuhn,

184 William street, New York City.

Boston, Mass.

THE PEOPLE is for sale at the following stores:

Brigham's Restaurant, Washington St.

Cohen's Book Store, Washington St., on the Bridge.

Croasdell's Store, Harrison avenue, near Bennett St.

JOINT QUARTERLY SESSION OF THE

SECTIONS S. L. P., HARTFORD, CONN.

will take place on

SUNDAY, July 11, 8 P. M.,

IN

CENTRAL LABOR UNION HALL.

All the comrades are earnestly requested to attend.

272 P. SCHAFFER, Organizer.

SECTION PHILADELPHIA

A Meeting of the **12th Ward Socialist Club** will be held MONDAY EVENING, July 12th, 8 o'clock sharp, at the LABOR LYCEUM. All Socialists residing in the Ward are requested to attend as a permanent organization will be effected.

All members of the Party are requested to be present at the meeting of the Section, SUNDAY, July 11th, 8 P. M., at the Labor Lyceum.

273 THE SECRETARY.

Trades and Societies Calendar.

Standing advertisements of Trades Unions and other Societies (not exceeding **five lines**) will be inserted under this heading hereafter at the rate of $5.00 per annum.

Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their places of meeting.

Carl Sahm Club (Musicians Union.) Meetings every Tuesday at 10 a. m., at 64 East 4th street, New York Labor Lyceum. Business Secretary: Frei. 302

Central Labor Federation of New York (S. T. & L. A., D. A. No. 1). Meets at 2.30 every Sunday afternoon at 64 East 4th street, New York City. All bona-fide trade and labor Unions should be represented. Communications are to be sent to the corresponding Secretary, Ernest Bohm, 64 East 4th street, New York City. 320

Cigarmakers' Progressive International Union No. 90. Office and Employment Bureau: 64 East 4th street.—District I (Bohemian), 324 East 71st street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District II (German), at 213 Forsyth St., meets every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District III, meets at 1527 avenue A, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District IV, meets at 342 West 42nd street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—The Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at 1422 2nd avenue, at 8 p. m. 26

Empire City Lodge (Machinists), meets every Wednesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street.

273 Secretary: HENRY ZINCK.

German Waiters' Union of New York. Office: 385 Bowery, Union Hall, 1st floor. Meetings every Friday at 4 p. m. Board of Supervisors meets every Wednesday at 4 p. m. at the same hall. 334

Musical Protective Alliance No. 1028, D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., Headquarters 79 E. 4th street. Meetings every Friday at 12 o'clock noon. Fred. Hartmann, Pres.; Fred. Woll, corr. Sec'y, Residence, 173 E. 4th St. 241

Section Essex County, S. L. P., meets the first Sunday in each month at 3 p. m. in the hall of "Essex County Socialist Club," 9 Springfield Ave., Newark, N. J. 18

Skandinavian Section, S. L. P. Meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of every month at 10 o'clock a. m., at Schuler's Hall, 231-235 East 2nd St., New York City. Subscription orders taken for the Scand. Socialist Weekly, SCAND. ARBETAREN.

Socialist Science Club, S. L. P., 34th 35th A. D. Meets at Weostar Hall, 140th street and 3rd avenue, every Friday at 8 P. M.

Upholsterers' Union of New York and Vicinity. Meets 2d and 4th Tuesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th St. Secretary, Carl Anders, 22 East 3rd street.

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Address all communications to HENRY STARK, Financial Secretary, 25—27 3rd Ave., Room 35, New York City.

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